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125 434 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 434 462 But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least partially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents [536] [565] of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 434 592 Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

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1. Each time that we speak of "family," it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

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464 484 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor force 25.3%

162 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers in Pikine 37%

Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers in Dakar 16%

[463] Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of 464 484 journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment, and as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of 494 484 transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.," thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have [493] personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from 484 Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on [369] the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of [361] "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

462 463 162 After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word about female work. The great majority of the women do not have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

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work are divided into very different groups: here is the distribution of female occupations by percentages:

/178/ Hairdressers (occupation often held by the griotes) . . . 4.5
Silent partners of weavers 2.2
Dyers 3.7
Saleswomen in markets or stalls 15.5
Cleaning women, laundresses 4.5
Laborer 0.8
Others 68.8
Total 100

Hairdressing is more an ordinary service than remunerative work: it is most often done by the caste women, griotes or jewelers, in exchange for money or for presents which they receive from "free" or "noble" families -- the Wolof term is "guer" -- for whom they are the appointed griotes. It is not unusual, along one of the sandy streets in the shade of a wall, to come across a group of women, one of whom will be braiding the hair of another stretched out flat on her stomach, her head on the knees of her hairdresser.

Equally traditional are the occupations of dyer or silent partner of a weaver. At the extreme opposite is the laborer of the CAFAL who works daily at fixed hours for a definite salary. There are only a few of them in our sample, all of whom are Sérère. The women who do housework or who are laundresses must likewise be classed under this rubric of modern work. The way they use their time is indeed much less whimsical than in the case of the first categories. Between the two one must place the most important occupation, that of saleswoman. And here it is again necessary to distinguish several categories of saleswomen: those who keep a shop or a stall by the side of their houses, those who go to sell at the market of Pikine, and finally those who every day go from Pikine to Dakar to sell their vegetables and their produce at Kermel or at Sandaga.

On the other hand, the positive replies are too numerous to be profitably discussed by ethnic groups and thus to separate out the principal ethnic behaviors. At best it is possible that

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/178 cont./ the jobs most thrust into the modern rhythm, like the last two categories of the saleswomen in the Dakar markets, are held by Wolof of Sérère women. The rate of activity of these last two is generally higher proportionately, since almost 40% of the Wolof or Sérère women are reckoned as having an occupation outside of the household. /179/ while this proportion drops to 13% for the Toucouleur and the other ethnic groups.

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A final point deserves to be mentioned: although one finds some women devoted to traditional occupations in the sample of the districts and even though one or two stalls are to be found there, we have, in turn, not found any woman there who works outside as saleswoman, housekeeper, or typist; the female workers of our sample are all found in the stratum of the quarters.

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In conclusion one may say that acculturation to the urban environment by means of modern work seems for the time being to have left aside the female world. Except for the Wolof and Sérère sectors of the female population, the rest have remained untouched. It is only under the strong [462] pressure of economic motives that the women become reconciled to going to work, and the Sérère women give proof of more initiative than the others. But when this compulsion ceases and the woman again takes up her traditional behavior: housewife, and nothing but housewife. This return to tradition may seem astonishing; it is explained by the educational level of those whom we have called "literate." It is this point that should now be studied.

IV. Educational Level and Schooling

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If belonging to a specific ethnic group constitutes a fundamental conditioning prior to settling in a city, the educational level, on the contrary, is both a sign and a factor of acculturation. On these grounds, therefore, it also has considerable importance when it is a matter of studying the possible variations of behavior, attitudes, and opinions. The initial results have shown that these were in fact, with

S 244 /7/ generally at the end of October or the beginning of November. Harvesting is done by cutting the stalks with the hilaire four or five centimeters under the ground. They are collected into little piles, sometimes protected by a shelter of plant material for drying, and then heaped into stacks to await the detachment S [462] of the shells several weeks later by threshing or by hand. This last operation is entrusted to the women and children. All of these tasks require great effort, and the more so since during the S [243] same brief period one must busy himself with the food crops, millet, niébés /Vigna/, etc.

S 241 The ways in which the groundnut is associated with the 244 food crops are quite variable and put their mark on the agrarian landscape.

W 244 1) The lougan of the Ouoloff peasant. The Ouoloff peasant of Cayor or of Siné-Saloum represents the most traditional type of cultivator of groundnuts. He still practices shifting cultivation on his lougan /cultivated field/ cleared by fire in the open bush. Although he does practice a millet-groundnut rotation, often with very little strictness, he does not know the virtues of fertilization. He cultivates the soil until it is exhausted and then abandons it for 15 or 20 years, which allows it to go back to bush. Today, however, demographic pressure does not always permit him to dispose of the vast areas of land required for this long rest. S W [433] The soil is rapidly being exhausted; the yields are diminishing. In Cayor the latter have fallen off at least 700 kilograms per hectare. The cultivation of the groundnut is very obviously regressing.

S SR 241 2) The organized ground of the Sérère /Serer/ peasantry (2). The Sérère are a group of Sudanese origin, driven back

S [113]

2. Pelissier, P. "Les paysans sérère, essai sur la formation d'un terroir au Sénégal /The Serer peasants, an essay on the formation of a ground in Senegal/," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. VI, 1953, No. 22, pp. 105-127.